1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

II.—FORMER LIMITS OF THE TIBETAN LANGUAGE.

171 199 The Tibetan language is now confined to the mountain valleys of the Tsangpo and Indus, and to the upper courses of the Sutluj, the Sarju, and the Chenáb. But in ancient days it probably extended over the greater part of the Cis-Himálayas,* as I can trace by the Tibetan names of the smaller streams. All the larger rivers have been re-named by the Brahmans; but the smaller streams still retain their old names. Thus I find, within a few miles of Simla, the *Andre-ti*, or water of the Andar village; the *Ghail-ti*, or water of the Ghail valley; the *Khanyao-ti*, or water of the Khanethu district; and the *Gumo-ti*, or water of the Gumo valley. Other names are the *Chahi-ti*, the *Manyao-ti*, the *Chigaun-ti*, and the *Wal-ti*, all of which preserve the Tibetan word *ti*, "water." It is, perhaps, idle to speculate at what period the Tibetans could have possessed the present districts of Bisahar, Kyonthal, and Sarmar; but it must have been many centuries ago, before the Khasas† were driven into the hills by the conquering Hindus.

197 In Kanâwar, where the Indian and Tibetan languages meet, there are two dialects, which partake more or less of the one or of the other. The *Milchang*, or common language of Lower Kanáwar, is so called by the people of

* Pliny, VI. c. 17, Scythæipoi Caucasum montem (appellavere) *Graucasum*, hoc est *nive candidum;* and Isidor (according to Wilford) states that *Kroakasis* means "white" in the eastern tongue. Now, the only eastern language which approaches these words is the Tibetan, in which *Kar-khá-chan*, pronounced *Kar-khá-tsan*, means "white-snow-full-of," which is exactly Pliny's "nive candidum."

† The Kanets of the hills are all Khasas; and in Chamba, Kullu, and Kanâwar, they interpose between the Hindus and Tibetans.

805
791

[16]CALENDAR--Lótho (almanac). The Tibetan calendar is a very troublesome and inconvenient one, so much so that if occasion arises to ascertain the date of any old document, it is generally necessary to refer to an individual called an "onpo" or rtseespa" or "skartseespa"'. This man is by profession an astrologer and understands the calendar. Sixty years make a cycle or "rabjung" and a period of 12 years makes a "lóskor". The names of the 12 separate years in the "lóskor" are as follows: —

805

1st---byee	lo or Mouse	year.
2nd--hlang	lo or Ox	year.
3rd--stak	lo or Tiger	year.
4th--yós	lo or Hare	year.
5th--druk	lo or Dragon	year.
6th--brul	lo or Snake	year.
7th--sta	lo or Horse	year.
8th--lug	lo or Sheep	year.
9th--sprey	lo or Monkey	year.
10th--biá	lo or Bird	year.
11th--khee	lo or Dog	year.
12th--phok	lo or Pig	year.

Cunnigham gives the following description of the "rabjung".

"The cycle of 60 years is a much more elaborate reckoning. The first cycle is counted from A. D. 1026. The Hindus have a distinct name for each year of the cycle, but the Tibetans have adopted the Chinese nomenclature which is formed by coupling the names of the 12 animals of the cycle, with the names of the 5 elements, considered as both male and female alternately. The first element, male and female, is coupled with the first two animals, next with the eleventh and twelfth, and so on; by which the change of names is preserved throughout the whole series. The names in English are"--

[71]

1 Wood Mouse.	13 Fire Mouse
2 Wood Ox.	14 Fire Ox.
3 Fire Tiger.	15 Earth Tiger.
4 Fire Hare.	16 Earth Hare.
5 Earth Dragon.	17 Iron Dragon.
6 Earth Serpent.	18 Iron Serpent.
7 Iron Horse.	19 Water Horse.
8 Iron Sheep.	20 Water Sheep.
9 Water Ape.	21 Wood Ape.
10 Water Bird.	22 Wood Bird.
11 Wood Dog.	23 Fire Dog.
12 Wood Hog.	24 Fire Hog.

796 527 FESTIVAL--tooschhen or dooschhen, or zhákzáng a public holiday or festival; geywa or stonmo festivals in remembrance of the dead; stanmo a fair. The Ladákis are very fond of fairs and festivals, as these afford opportunities for much merriment and chhang drinking, to both of which the Ladákis are much addicted. The principal festivals are as follows:--Dosmóchey, Lósir, SHoophla, Rgustor, Heymis-TsheySHoo, Guroo-TsheySHoo, and MąSHo-NaGHrang.

796 The "Dosmóchey" is the religious or Lámáistic "New Year's day" festival. It falls on the 1st day of the 1st month of the Tibetan year (corresponding to about 15th January), and is kept up for five days. At Leh, this festival is observed just [643] as in the old days of the Ladák Rajas. The ex-Raja assumes royal dignities, and lives in the palace, at the head of the Leh bazar. He is surrounded by Lamas, sowars, singers and dancers, as well as by all the leading men of the country, and the 5 days are passed in praying, feasting, dancing, singing and horse-racing.

796 174 The Lósir, as shown by the name, is the real national "New Year's day." It was probably observed in days prior to the introduction of Buddhism into Ladák. It is looked on with disfavour by the Lamas. It is celebrated in Ladák on 28th, 29th, 30th of the 10th month, and on 1st and 2nd of the 11th month (corresponding to about 15th December). No one quite knows how it happens that the New Year's Day comes a month before the end of the year; some explain it by saying a mistake has occurred in the calendar calculations; others think that the Lamas, when they instituted their Dosmóchey, or religious New Year's Day, altered the date of the Lósir, so that the two festivals might not fall together; and another explanation is that in olden times a great defeat was suffered by the Ladák king, at the hands of Lhasa soldiers, on the 1st day, of the 1st month, and that for that reason, that day was regarded as unlucky, and the "Lósir" was fixed for the time at which it is [44] now [171] held. There is a curious similarity between the European and Tibetan customs, in connection with this period of the year, i.e., the end of the old year (including Christmas day) and the commencement of the new year.

796 592 On the 1st night of the "Lósir," Ladákis illuminate their houses, offer up sacrifices, and decorate their doorways and houses with boughs of the evergreen juniper. The father or eldest

brother, whichever of them is in possession of the family property, (see under heading "Entail") must at this season invite all members of the family to assemble at his house for a five days' jollification. For dinner he must give them a pudding, just as we give a Christmas plum-pudding, and when this pudding is put on the table a hole is made in the centre, and into it butter is poured. 796 592

I am told by Dr. Marx of the Moravian Mission, to whom I am indebted for the above account, that this exactly corresponds with the custom still prevailing in Sweden, where butter or oil is poured into the Christmas plum-pudding. 171 796

In England we stick a sprig of holly into the pudding, but the idea is the same--the holly, being an ever green, is symbolical of life, while butter or oil is closely connected with the idea of light which again is closely connected with the idea of life.

During the "Lósir" the Ex-Raja of Ladák is allowed to assume regal dignities, as during the "Dosmóchey." The five days are spent in feasting, dancing, horse-racing and all kinds of merriment. 796 [248]

The "SHoophia" is a kind of harvest festival in honor of the "hla" or "goddess" of the "SHoops" or "ears of corn." It falls about the 7th of August, when the crops are just beginning to ripen. It is celebrated in every village. [241]

The "tsheySHoo" festival is observed in memory of a religious celebrity named "Oorjian Padma Jungnas" who lived in the early days of Tibetan Buddhism. It ought to be kept on the 10th day of every month, but as a "festival" it is as a matter of fact, observed by the people of the country, only once a year, when a great festival takes place at Heymis, the chief monastery of Ladák. This festival which is called the "Heymis TsheySHoo" falls on the 10th day of the 5th month, corresponding to about 7th of June. On the 2nd day of the festival the Heymis monastery is crowded with people who have come from all parts of Ladák, Zangskár, and Changtháng to witness the "devils" dance" performed by Lamas belonging to the Heymis monastery. The dancing of the monks though weird is rather stupid, but their masks are grotesque and their richly embroidered Chinese silk dresses are extremely handsome. 796 536

The Ladákis explain the object of the "devils' dance" by saying

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

564 Chapter III, C.
565 Tribes and Castes and Leading Families.
184 Caste in Spiti.
[171]

Caste distinctions are said not to obtain in Spiti; but the people are divided into three classes who do not intermarry, the landowners, the artisan menials, and the minstrel beggars, and the remarks of Mr. Anderson quoted below seems to show a state of things which can scarcely be distinguished from caste in a very lax condition. Caste restrictions grow weaker and weaker as we go farther into the hills, and it is probable that there is at least as much difference in this respect between Kángra and Láhaul as there is between Láhaul and Spiti. Mr. Anderson writes thus:—

564
565
582
264

"In Spiti there are three classes: Cháhzang, Lohár or Zobo, and Hensi or Betha, but caste is unknown. A Cháhzang will eat from a Lohár's hand. It is considered no social crime to eat with the lower classes, but marriage is not permitted. A Cháhzang will marry a Cháhzang, but having regard to relationship; that is, they will not intermarry within the same clan (*rus* or *kuldi*). This is the rule also with Lohárs and Hensis. Should a Cháhzang take a Lohár woman into his house, he will be considered as having done wrong, but other Cháhzangs will still eat from his hand. The offspring of such a marriage is called Argun, and an Argun will marry with a Lohár. It is said that it is not common for a Cháhzang to eat with a Hensi, but should the latter touch the food it is not thereby defiled.

564
264

"It is common among Bots (or Tibetans) generally to consider all the body below the waist as polluted, and if the skirt or foot of a Bot should touch the food or water, it is defiled and thrown away. It is enough if the skirts pass over the food. I was told that when the Spiti people saw the Láhaul enumerators stepping across the water which ran to the Spiti encamping ground, they refused to take the water and went higher up the stream for it. This idea is found among Hindús also, but it is not so strictly acted on."

So Mr. Lyall writes:—

"All other classes avoid eating food cooked by the Bethas, who are with reason treated as a very low and disreputable set of people. So again, they would not admit them to the equality conferred by the common use of the same pipe, or by dipping the hand in the same dish."

564

The landowning class returned themselves in 1868 as Kanets, but in 1881 as Cháhzangs. This latter word merely means landowner, and is used generally for the people towards Tibet, Ladákh and Zánskár, in a very wide sense to mean all that speak Bhoti or Tibetan, just as *monba* or *mowpa*, "the people that do not know," is used for Hindús.* These Kanets or Cháhzangs are pure Tibetans, and in 1868 constituted the whole population with the exception of 100 Lohárs and 46 Bedas. The Lohárs, whose Tibetan name is Zon, are skilful smiths; they make pipes, tinder-boxes, bits, locks and keys, knives, choppers, hoes, ploughshares and chains. Some of their work is of quaint and intricate pattern. The articles are generally made to order, the smith receiving food and wages, and being supplied with the iron. These people are employed to beat drums at marriages and at festivals in the monasteries. They seldom hold land. The Bedas or Bethus correspond with the Hensis

* This is Mr. Anderson's translation of the word *mowpa*. But he gives it doubtfully; and Mr. Lyall has another, and probably a more correct explanation. General Cunningham considers that the word is a survival of the Mons, a (Dravidian?) tribe who once held these hills.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

bottoms of their dressing-gown coats into their ample belts, and play with bare or merely stockinged feet, whilst their younger brothers enjoy their game just as thoroughly when they play it with a rag ball. The game of marbles too has found its way here, but must adapt itself to the poverty of the country. Stones as round as can be found are used, or if walnuts abound they do service for a similar game. A hole is dug in the ground or in the raised base of a *chorten*, and the aim is to throw as many of these walnuts into it as possible. Nor are the Ladaki lasses without their games. A finger or stick traces in the sand and dust the lines necessary for hopscotch just as efficiently as the chalk-line on a London pavement, and little Ladaki legs, although they are shod with clumsy native footgear, do their hopping just as nimbly as those of their English sisters.

The Ladaki also believes in the dictum, "what thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might," at least as far as games are concerned, and with a little training he would compete on equal terms with our own countrymen. Those boys sent down-country to the Rev. C. E. Tyndale Biscoe's splendid school rapidly pick up hockey, tennis, badminton, swimming and rowing, in fact, excel in all sports. But let us now watch them at their own national games, the favourite being polo. Ladak may not be the home of polo, but it certainly found its way here at an early date. Even if it arose in Persia, it very soon migrated to Gilgit, and the Dards, no doubt, brought it with them to Ladak, and now it is not even a hyphenated Ladaki game, for most good-sized villages have their own polo ground. In Leh, the capital, the game was formerly played in the high street, but this evidently became so dangerous for the shopkeepers that now we have a proper polo ground. This consists of a level space about two hundred yards long, which cannot boast of a blade of grass, but is covered by a layer of dust so thick that before play begins, it has to be laid with water. On one side it is bounded

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The idea of the scapegoat is practised in some form or other everywhere in Lesser and Greater Tibet. In some places an actual goat is sent into the wilderness. In others even a man is chosen, who for a whole year has to leave his village and live elsewhere, at the end of which time some other is chosen to bear the sin of the village. It is a fair assumption that formerly this sinbearer was put to death.

Circumambulation, as every good Ladaki can demonstrate, is a splendid means of obtaining merit. Almost any religious object can be walked around. If there is no *thorten*, then walk round a temple containing some god. If you are getting old it is expedient to spend weary hours twirling your prayer-wheel, saying your *Om mani's*, and walking round and round a *mani* wall. Ten times round the great *chorten* at Jhangspa was the daily evensong of one picturesque, friendly old gentleman we used to meet with his prayer-wheel and rosary. If you can get one or two friends to come along too, it is certainly not quite so lonesome, even though they have to walk behind, for one can intersperse one's prayers with quite interesting snatches of conversation. The month in which this is most beneficial is the first of the year, and the greatest merit of all is obtained by going round the Tsemo, the monastery-crowned hill of Ladak, in whose chief temple resides a "Byamspa" god, so high that his head reaches into the second storey. This great *aKorches* (to round) is performed early in the year, by means of measuring your length the whole way along the route. Let us go into the desert to the south of Leh, where twenty to thirty young men are collected who have decided to perform this religious duty. They are drawn up in rows of twos or fours, about eight feet apart. Each man has tied round his waist a sheepskin apron, which hangs down over his knees. This both shields the knees from being cut, and good clothes from being torn. A low mumble begins, all saying the same phrase over and over again, which runs—"All living animals ask for Buddha's

15: Francke--1 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

/1/ INTRODUCTION

I

The Mythology of the Tibetan Saga World

The Bon religion is usually regarded as the pre-Buddhistic religion of the Tibetans. We find the ideas of this religion expressed in a great many documents to be met with among the Bonpo, who even today are still settled in certain parts of Tibet. Only very little has been translated into European languages from these books. But from what has been presented in translation, it is apparent that the Bon religion has by no means the characteristics of a primitive culture. Rather, it appears as a mixture of ancient Tibetan ideas with materials borrowed from Hinduism and from Buddhism.

To me the folklore of the country proved to be a much richer mine of information about the pre-Buddhistic religious system of the Tibetans. In this field, three groups were especially fruitful. These were the Kesar saga (the national epic of the country), the exchange songs at weddings, and the hymns called Glin-glu, which are sung at the spring festival.

I. Let us first consider the Kesar saga. Its central figure is King Kesar. (In the West this name is clearly pronounced Ke-sar, or even Kye-sar; in the East it is known in the corrupt form Ge-sar. In a similar manner the word Kyir-mo, meaning a round coin, a rupee, has become Gir-mo.) Europeans first became acquainted with this saga in its Mongolian version through the translations (1) by B. Bergmann

1. B. Bergmann, Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmüken. --I. J. Schmidt, Die Taten Bogda-Gesser-Chans, Petersburg, 1839. Gesar had already been mentioned earlier, by Pallas in his Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des russischen Reiches.

and I. J. Schmidt. Schmidt's translation was done from a Mongolian edition prepared in 1716 in Peking at the command of the Emperor Kanghi. The work is entitled: Die Taten Bogda-Gesser-Chans. As Schmidt reports, Gesser-Chan is highly revered also among the

539 Chinese, and the dynasty that was ruling at that time (1836) even
171 recognized him as its tutelary spirit. Further, Schmidt states:
173 "Since Gesser-Chan is named in the saga as the ruler of three Tibetan tribes, the Tussa, Dongsar, and Lik, this fact has induced the Chinese to weave him into their history of the three empires, and to assign to him an epoch in their chronology, namely, the beginning of the third century." As long as only the Mongolian version of the Kesar saga was known, it remained of necessity undetermined whether the saga was of Mongolian or of Tibetan origin. But as soon as I published, in 1900, the first samples of the Tibetan Kesar saga as I had gathered it from oral sources (2), no disinterested

2. "Der Frühlingsmtthus der Kesarsage," Memoires de la Societe Finno-Ougneme, No. XV. Helsinki, 1900. Improved /or Corrected/ English edition in the Indian Antiquary, 1902.

observer was in any further doubt that the homeland of the sagas was to be found in Tibet. Professor A. Grünwedel wrote in the Globus (3) at that time: "In contrast to the familiar (Mongolian

3. Vol. XXVIII, No. 6.

/2/) versions, which represent Ge-sar as warrior and hero, Francke's texts are of a much more original nature and have a predominantly mythological character." Grimm had already expressed the opinion in his Kinder- und Haysmärchen /children's and household fairy tales/ that the Kesar saga, which was known to him only in the Mongolian version, had in all probability originally come into existence in Tibet. As we have already seen, this saga is also known to the Chinese and to the Mongols. But not only that--traces of it are likdwise to be found among the Turkish tribes, the Tungus and Buryat, and so forth. It looks as though this saga material has been disseminated all over Asia. I regard Western Tibet, and Ladakh in particular, as the country of origin for the versions that have become known up to now. The old West Tibetan kingdom is designated in chronicles as well as in inscriptions by Khrom-ge-sar-gdan,
533 "market place, Kesar's throne." In this region the saga is at home
[564] to such an extent that each village has its own version, and the saga
539 is recited by musicians belonging to the caste of the Bhe-da. In their recital, the metrical parts of the saga are sung. But in this

III. The Hymns of the Spring Festival (Glin-glu). When the spring festival is celebrated in Western Tibet (Ladakh, and so on), hymns are sung which bear the name Glin-glu, "Songs from the Land of Glin." In these hymns King Kesar and the deities mentioned in the Kesar saga are honored. Without a certain knowledge of the Kesar saga, these songs would remain unintelligible. Without exerting myself particularly, I managed to get my hands on two such hymn collections as I was looking around for folk songs. From the village Phyi-dban, eight English miles below Leh, I obtained a manuscript prepared there, which contained the nine hymns of the Kesar festival that are customarily used in that village. In Khalatse, Ye-shes-rig-adzin, who has already been mentioned above, wrote down for me the nine hymns that were sung there. I published the first collection in the Indian Antiquary in 1901, with text, English translation, and notes. The second collection is to be found in my "Ladakhi Songs," where it is printed under Nos. XXI-XXIX. These two important collections are accompanied by a briefer third one, consisting of five festival songs which a member of the Bheda caste in the village of Sheh (Shel) wrote down for me, songs traditional in that village. In addition, I should mention that scattered parts of such festival songs are also to be found here and there in my collections of folk songs, just as here and there some wedding songs are to be found taken out of their context. /5/ Such a one is to be found, for instance, in Ladakhi Songs, No. 30, "The Carpet of the Bride Buyers."

796
113
127
539

IV. Now, after the main sources of the Glin-chos have been established, I must speak of yet a fourth type of songs of a religious nature which, however, do not seem to fit into the framework of the Glin-chos. I published one of these in my Ladakhi Songs as No. 15. But this is not a happy example, since it is composed of two wedding songs, whereas the original song has been lost. Better types are afforded by my as yet unpublished collection of songs from Sheh. From this collection it appears that as a theme for the harvest songs they chose the creation of the world and the origin of the gifts of nature, in particular, wheat. But the myth of the creation of the world, as we find it here, is in contrast to the version in the Kesar saga. In the harvest song the earth rises up out of the waters of the ocean, while in the Kesar saga it is formed out of the body of a slain giant. Now the myth in the harvest songs of Sheh (Shel) corresponds in a curious way with the Dard song about the creation of the world, such as we find it written down in the Dard collection of hymns of

539
773
171
773

171 the Bono-na festival (1). At the harvest festival in Western Tibet
773

1. "The Eighteen Songs of the Bono-na Festival," Indian Antiquary, 1905, p. 93. To this should be added the observation that the Dard have apparently derived their philosophical outlook from the Buddhists.

[241] we are apparently dealing with a Dard custom. It was the Dards who introduced agriculture into Western Tibet. Since time immemorial the Tibetans have been nomads.

The Cosmology

773 The world consists of three realms: 1. sTan-lha, the upper realm of the gods, 2. Bar-btsan, the mighty middle realm, and 3. gYog-klu, the lower realm of the spirits (realm of the Naga).

773 1. STan-lha, the upper realm of the gods. This realm is situ-
776 ated in the sky above the clouds, but sometimes the tall mountain peaks seem to be included in it. It is ruled by a king who goes by the name aBum-khri-rgyal-po, "King of the hundred thousand thrones," or also sKyer-rdzon-snyan-po, "Eloquent one of the bright castle." This god was already identified with an Indic god in ancient times. Such contact between the Tibetan and Indic religions is explained by the fact that the ancient sacred region of Tibet, the area around the Manasarowar Lake, was sacred also to
[823] the Indians. In very ancient times the Indians had already under-
[788] taken pilgrimages to the source of the Ganges and of the streams of the Panjab, and these journeys led them into the region of this lake. The Indic god who was considered equal to the Tibetan king of the heavens is Indra, that is, the Indra of the ancient Vedic period, the god of spring, the conqueror of the giants and the demons. Indra's characteristics are found again not only in the Tibetan god of the heavens, but also in his son, King Kesar. The name by which Indra became familiar to the Tibetans, is Stakratu, Tibetan brGya-byin, dialectal rByab-zhin, "He who has brought one hundred offerings." And it is actually the case that the name brGya-byin is to be met with far more frequently in the documents of the pre-Buddhistic religion than the ancient Tibetan name of the same divinity. The wife of this king of the heavens is called aBum-khri-rgyal-mo, "Queen of the one hundred thousand thrones," or bKur-dman-rgyal-mo, "Queen, revered woman," and also A-ne-bkur-

The total number of gods (lha) is given as 360 in the narrative Shel-li-bu-zhun (Paladins, No. III), a number which is also to be found in the Bonpo works. In conclusion we should point out that occasionally a differentiation is made between dBan-po-brgya-byin, the ruler of the heavens, and sKyer-rdzon-snyan-po, the "father of the gods" (pha-lha). The latter name is particularly used for the god of heaven as the father of Dun-grub-ke-sar. This usage seems subsequently to have led to the fact that different deities were understood by the two names. 773 776

2. Bar-btsan, the earth, literally, "the firm place in the middle." Other names are: Mi-yul, "land of human beings," Glin, "continent," "world." Later also, after the appearance of Indic concepts, aDzam-bu-glin, Sanskrit, Jambudvipa. The highest deity of the earth is Mother sKyabs-mdun, "helpful spouse." She seems to be identical with the goddess of the earth, brTan-ma, "the firm one" (Jäschke's Lexikon), or brTan-byed-ma (S. Ch. Das, Lexikon /Dictionary/). Father brTan-pa also occurs.

The world (glin) of mythology is, of course, Tibet. But if we look at the few place names that occur in the mythology and are identifiable, we are directed to the western part of the country, into the region of the great lakes. In the wedding songs, both great lakes, Ma-pham (Manasarowar) and La-nag, are frequently mentioned. The former of these two lakes is mentioned most frequently and the mountain Kailasa, which is near it, plays a not inferior role. In the Kesar saga and elsewhere, too, the mountain bears the name Ti-se (apparently a contraction of Khri-rtse, "throne peak"), or Gans-ri ("ice mountain"). Gans-ti-se also occurs. On top of the mountain, or close by it, stands Glin-mkhar-rtse-dgu, "the castle of Glin with the nine peaks." The silver mountain, the golden mountain, the blue mountain, and the slate mountain are in the closest proximity. This mountain range is thought of by the Tibetans as the point of origin for the four main rivers of the world (1), of which, in fact, 173 773

1. These four main rivers are also mentioned in No. X b, and in No. XVII of the wedding songs of Tag-ma-cig. There they are not mentioned individually by name, however. A similar saga is also to be found in the Ramayana, I, 44, "the descent of the Ganga." In that place not four but seven rivers are mentioned. [171]

they enumerate the following in inscriptions and in their chronicle: 1. the Indus, which flows to the west, Sen-ge-kha-bab, or "lion

points of the compass. Their names are the following: 776

1. rDo-rje-sems-dpa (Vajrasatva) . . . . . East 821
2. Rin-chen-byun-ldan (Ratnasambhava) . . . South
3. sNan-ba-mtha-yas (Amitabha) . . . . . West
4. Don-yod-grub-pa (Amoghasiddha) . . . . North.

Even the Indian Lokapala have connections with certain colors, 821
and it is now of some importance to establish how the Indic system 822
is related to the color system of the wedding songs, as it has been 171
described so far. In order to clarify the situation, I shall recapitulate the latter:

1. East . . . . . white.
2. South . . . . . yellow (gold).
3. West . . . . . red (once, No. XV, turquoise).
4. North . . . . . black (or blue).

The Indic Lokapalas are represented in Lamaism with the following skin colors:

1. Dhritarashta . . . . East . . . . . white.
2. Virudhaka . . . . . South . . . . blue.
3. Virupaksha . . . . . West . . . . . red.
4. Vaisravana (Kubera). North . . . . . yellowish gold.

We see that, except for white in the East, and red in the West, the two systems have no connection with each other. The Indic Lokapalas constitute an extrinsic element in the field of the popular religion of the Tibetans.

/14/ Things have advanced a little further, on the other hand, in 776
the case of the Dhyanibuddhas. In wedding song No. XLII these have 821
been related to colors, and in this case it appears that the ancient 822
Tibetan system has penetrated almost in its entirety. In this song the following colors are named:

1. rDo-rje-sems-dpa . . . East . . . . white.
2. Rin-chen-byun-ldan . . South . . . yellow.
3. sNan-ba-mtha-yas . . . West . . . . blue.
4. Don-yod-grub-pa . . . North . . . . black.

To summarize, we may say that it appears from these old songs that the Tibetans had deities for the four points of the compass; further, that they first conceived of them in the form of birds and later apparently in human shape, and associated them with certain colors, originally, probably, white, yellow, red, and blue. In later times the names of Indic deities belonging to the points of the compass penetrated into the Tibetan system.

1 [See pp. 1-8, category 116 for references --Analyst]

776 to the mountains and the rivers and extended his worship to the one
773 hundred spirits." A corresponding passage is to be found also in the book of rites, Li-chi, where it says: "The son of heaven made an offering to heaven and earth, the four points of the compass, the mountains and the rivers, to the land and to the grain; he also brought the five domestic offerings." We see that among the Chinese the six "honorable ones" precede, but that they can be followed by some lesser deities. The latter is also the case among the Tibetans, and in the song just mentioned about incense offerings, wedding song, No. I, after the seven main deities there come the following lesser ones: the god of the mountain peak, the god of the village, and the god of the household. In a similar manner, other songs also descend from sublime deities till they finally arrive at the members of the family.

171 In this arrangement, which corresponds among the Tibetans and
773 the Chinese, I believe I can recognize a sign of mythological relationship between these two peoples. It is true that the "three worlds" and the "four kings of the earth" are also to be found among many other peoples, from the Babylonians to the Indians. But only the Tibetans and the Chinese make these two groups into "highest divinities." It is of especial value to us that from this combination the world tree of Tibetan mythology with its six branches, can be explained.

/16/ The Devil bDud

773 Occasionally a fourth universal realm is added to the three
776 great realms of the world, sTan-lha, Bar-btsan, and Yog-klu, that is, the realm of the devil bDud. The color of the devil's realm is black according to the Sheh (Shel) version, and brownish-violet (smug-po) according to the Lower Ladakhi Version (1). In the

1. Lower Ladakhi Version, "Defeat of the king of Hor," No. 6.[1]

Winter Myth, II, 21-26,[2] we read that Kesar on his journey found on four mountain passes four altars, which had been erected to the divinities of the three universal realms and to the devil and were white, red, blue, and black in color. Kesar worshipped at the three first altars by offering on them white, red, and blue material.

1 [See AA1-8, Category 16, for references -- Analyst]

773 it should be added at once that the ancient Tibetans seem to have
776 been acquainted with the profession of battle maidens as much as
805 the ancient Germanic tribes. In wedding song No. XLIII,[1] in which
821 the guests have cups of different colors set before them according to their rank, there appear after the lama, the king, and the ministers, first of all the sTag-shar, the tiger heroes, then the sTag-dman, the tiger virgins, and finally the Na-chun, the ordinary virgins. The sTag-shar and the sTag-dman drink from golden cups, the ordinary virgins, on the other hand, drink from red cups. With respect to Saturday, I must /20/ confess that so far it seems to me impossible to connect an Agu with the Tibetan planet of this day.

773 Now as far as the relationship of the Agus to an ancient zodiac
776 is concerned, I would say that it is particularly the external appear-
805 ance of the Agus that makes their origin from a zodiac seem possi-
171 ble. The Agus are described as creatures of human shape, some of whom are provided with animal heads. In this connection, however, it should be said at once that the animals in the signs of the zodiac in use today in China as well as in Tibet, are the very ones that cannot be found among the animal heads of the Agus. It is well-known, however, that the zodiac in use today was not introduced into either country until historical times (before the seventh or eighth century). The zodiac symbolized in the Agus, on the other hand, may have originated in the prehistoric period of the two peoples.

The zodiac known today in China and Tibet has the following twelve animal signs: rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, goat, ape, hen, dog, and pig. The zodiac is used in the calendar to designate the years. The Tibetans report that this calendar was brought to them by the Chinese in the seventh century. It must therefore have been introduced into China somewhat earlier. The same animal names were then also used to designate the different months. As the excavations in Turkestan indicate, the Tibetans of the eighth century divided the year into twelve months, with three of the months constituting a season of the year. At that time they spoke of the second and the third spring month, and so forth. Each month, at that time, was reckoned at thirty days. I suspect this because the number 360 plays such an important role with the gods, the nymphs, and similar beings.

Although it is as yet impossible to equate all the Agus in the list given above with the known signs of the zodiac, the following should nevertheless be pointed out: An-gar-rtsans-po with the lizard's head can be compared with the snake of the Dodekaoros;

[1] [See cat. 116, pp1-8 for references, --Analyst]

Khrai-mgo with the hawk's head can be compared with the hawk of the Dodekaoros; aBu-dmar-lam-bstan with the insect's head can be compared with the beetle of the Dodekaoros; Kha-rgan, "Old Mouth," with the white beard, can be compared with the ape of the Dodekaoros; Bon-mag with the donkey's head, with the donkey of the Dodekaoros. As has already been mentioned, mDa-dpon-gon-ma, the great arrow master, belongs perhaps to the "archer" of the Babylonian zodiac. As A. Jeremias observes in his "Handbuch," the previously mentioned zodiac of the Chinese, which begins with the rat, the ox, and the tiger, is related to the Hellenistic Dodekaoros. After what has just been said, it seems to me that the zodiac symbolized by the Agus comes much closer to the Dodekaoros. Here we have, perhaps, the intermediate link between the Asiatic West and East with respect to this calendar problem.

773
776
805
171

Favorite Numbers in the Ancient Mythology

Three is a particularly favored number. The world is composed of three parts, the king of the heavens has three sons, King "White Tent" must perform three labors, three Shar-an-dre, according to the Lower Ladakh Version, strive to kill the child Kesar. The Agu Khrai-thun needs three hats, three stirrups, and three dog collars ("Journey to China"). According to wedding song No. XIII[1] there are three famous castles, three lakes, three forms of greeting, of smiling, and of swearing; according to No. LIX[1], there are three kinds of people, of cattle and of iron tools, and there are three kinds of fields.

773
801

The number seven appears somewhat less frequently. However, the smaller group of the Agus consists of seven heroes. According to the Sheh version there are seven An-dhe-ban-dhe who try to kill the infant Kesar. Seven /21/ types of grain seeds are found in the stomach of the dove that has been caught. Tag-ma-cig, (wedding song No. LIX.[1]) With seven bones and seven shells Dze-mo performs her magic on Cu-ru-lu-gu (in the Winter Myth, No. 3)[1].

The number nine occurs with special frequency. The monster from which gDon-gsum-mi-la constructs the world, has nine heads; the devil Cu-ru-lu-gu has nine lives; according to Winter Myth, VIII,[1] Kesar is victorious in nine battles; according to Spring Myth, VI,[1] 29, nine little pieces of butter are spread along the edge of the beer jug in honor of the guest. Nine gods and nine Pisaca were born together with Kesar, according to Winter Myth, VIII,[1] 34. In everyday life, the number nine is also in frequent use. A full rosette is

1 [See pp 1-8, category 116, for references -- Analyst]

well known and have not been extensively studied or recorded. In a book by Professor Westermark, *"The History of Human Marriage,"* which is possibly the best study of this question throughout the world, covering cases of differing family organization, it is only mentioned that polyandry exists in America to some extent, mostly in South America on the coast of Ecuador and also in British and Dutch Guiana; that it exists on the North American continent among some of the American Indian aborigines and among the Eskimos; and that it also occurs in Tibet, in India, mostly in the Himalayas, but also in southwest India, in the Melanesian archipelago, and among some primitive peoples of the Siberian plains. In Africa, it is also known in parts of Uganda and in some tribes of Southeast Africa among the Hottentots.

Thus, I had quite a large choice of locations to study polyandrous peoples. I chose India and Tibet because, from the abovementioned book, I realized that the Tibetians had perhaps the best-preserved and most efficiently organized polyandry of them all, and that in India there seemed to be a number of unrecorded polyandrous peoples which were worth a trip to study on the spot. Then, too, both Tibet and India seemed to be healthful places for an anthropologist to work. In 1937, my wife and I decided to go out there and look for the polyandrous peoples. We visited the Tibetans for eight months in 1938, the Todas in southern India for six months in the summer of 1939, and the Tiyas on the southwest coast of India, in Malabar, for the remaining time, which was roughly about a month, until World War II broke out and we had to interrupt our activities. I shall present my findings in the same order, and end with a synopsis of the whole, giving you my conclusions as to, first, the psychoanalytical results of the investigation and, second, the anthropological results as well.

Tibetan Polyandry. We visited the western part of Tibet because, having

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

being used to those in Lahul. For this reason, it is unnecessary for me to repeat what I have already written in the passage about this in my description of Lahul, and the reader is referred to it (see p. 326-7). Two new terms, however, did come to light: *oma chik-pa* (*aO-ma gChig-pa*) for a milk brother or sister, and *chos-pün* (*Ch'hos sPun*) for brothers in a religious order. The kinship system is descriptive, and is only used in a classificatory manner when addressing strangers (*meme* for old men and lamas assimilated to grandfathers, *ama* for strange women of the age of one's mother, etc.).

The patrilineal clans, each descendant from a common ancestor, which I encountered in Lahul under the name of *rü* (*Rus*), are called *P'haspun* (*P'ha-sPun* or *P'has-sPun*) in Ladak. In accordance with H. A. Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (1949), p. 330, this name is given the English meaning of "several neighbours or inhabitants of a village that have a common *Lha* (or god) and thus have become *rus-pa cig-cig*, members of the same family; this common tie entails on them the duty whenever a death takes place, of caring for the cremation of the dead body".

From Nono Tse-P'hün, however, I learned that a *p'haspun* was primarily the group formed by all the male descendants of one paternal ancestor, and only secondarily really, by corruption, the group consisting of all those males who worship the same *Lha* or who are associated for burial purposes. Later, in 1953, when we met again, this time in Kalimpong, at the other end of India, he added something to the definition he had given me fifteen years earlier. He said that a *p'haspun* was a group consisting of men associated for purposes of financial support in difficult times.

It appears, thus, that in Ladak, although the *p'haspuns* are, first and foremost, patrilineal lineages or clans whose ancestry is traceable to a single common progenitor and who worship a common *Lha* or god, they are also groups of kinfolk with a certain definite obligation of the members towards one another, namely that of caring for the cremation of the dead body when a death occurs within the group, and with the rather more ill-defined duty of helping each other financially in periods of economic distress.

It is as though the Tibetan archaic, patrilineal, corporate group of the lineage had overflowed its ancient, strictly parental nature in Ladak, and with time had assumed additional social significance, thus playing an important role in the economic life of a polyandrous people. I say this because we saw in Lahul – and, as we shall see from the material

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

which I collected later, in Kalimpong, about Central Tibet – the *rü* does not carry with it such obligations between its members. It seems to be confined to the single function of prohibiting marriage within its fold. It is only an exogamous unit and not an association for mutual assistance.

In *East and West* (see Bibliography) I published a complete list of thirty five *p'haspuns* of Ladak, involving eighty six families, whose names, meaning of appellation, name of *lha*, and remarks on each of them, I have given simultaneously. Readers are referred to this article for the information, which I endeavoured to make as exhaustive as possible.

Regarding the question of the exogamy of the *p'haspuns* of Ladak, I was told by Nono Tse-P'hün as well as by his father-in-law, Joseph Gergan, that no one paid the slightest attention any longer to rules forbidding marriage within the *p'haspun*. As long as people were "not related", as they put it, (meaning, no doubt, not immediately related by ties of close family kinship), marriage was possible between members of families constituting a same *p'haspun*. The latter were really only inter-assistance organizations, they said, and had nothing to do with marriage rules any longer.

Ordinary folk from Ladak, however, from Leh and from its surroundings, whom I met on my visits to polyandrous households, and later, in Kalimpong, when they were on their way to or from Lhasa on pilgrimage, assured me that one should marry only outside the *p'haspun* to which one belonged. They all said that, as far as they were concerned, they would not think of doing otherwise.

The explanation of such divergent views must surely be, then, that probably these vary with the class to which a man belongs, and to which my informants belonged. The wealthier and more educated people, such as Joseph Gergan and his son-in-law, no longer consider it necessary to heed the ancient exogamous rules of the *p'haspun*. They have outgrown them, have become modern, and such rules appear meaningless to them. But the peasant population of Ladak, by nature very conservative and certainly much less discerning, still adhere strictly to the rules, although they do so quite instinctively as the "right" thing to do, and would be completely at a loss if they had to give the reason for their action.

I asked Joseph Gergan on one occasion (actually by letter to which I received a reply on the 27th December 1938) if a *porjag* could be of the same *p'haspun* as the common wife, or if he should be of the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

846 852 [604] [292] headgear resembling that in which the Tibetan saint Padmasambhava (Guru Rimpoche) is always attired, and she puts it on the child's head. It will wear this until it grows out of it. The feast lasts two days, and the guests are served with *amai mar-zan* (*Ama-ai Mar-zan*) or "mother's *mar-zan*", which all can now safely eat in the household.

In wealthier families, two more festive occasions are observed: *Bdün-da-kang* (*bDun Zla-Gang*) after seven weeks (*Bdün* stands for "seven") in which many more people, sometimes the whole village, are entertained; and *pang-ri* (*Pang-Dri*) or "lap fragrance" in which a vast concourse of friends, relatives and guests are entertained for three days, if [603] the new-born is a boy. On this last occasion, it is customary for the maternal grandmother to have *tsampa* served to everybody present.

[184] [302] There is no equivalent of the *ral-dag* or hair-cutting ceremony of Lahul, in Ladak. But at the birth of a son, it is not unusual for superstitious people to cut off a small lock and to stuff it into a willow tree. This is called the performance of *ral-chang* (*Ral-lChang*) or "long-hair willow".

553 [551] A child receives its names at no special time. There are three of them, and one of them is always kept secret and never revealed during the whole lifetime of the person. The parents can name their child, or they can take it to a lama who will give it names in writing on a piece of Tibetan paper, stamped with the seal of the monastery. The astrologer is sometimes asked to give auspicious names to a child after he has made its horoscope, and in the more important Ladaki families it is customary for the king of Ladak to be asked to name their offspring.

171 I have gone at length into these various ceremonies connected with the birth and initiation of children, as well as with notions of cleanliness and pollution in ritual matters which have to do with child-bearing and death, because it appears to me to be so very revealing of the psychology of the polyandrous Ladakis. Such ritualistic practices are to be found in other, non-polyandrous societies elsewhere in the world, and they compare very favourably with Indian ways in these matters. But it is of interest, it seems to me, to note that they exist also among the polyanders of an area of Tibetan cultural affinity, with the special characteristics which I have described above.

(v) *Medical information*

114 158 As I had already done in Lahul, I also visited medical men in Ladak, and the hospitals in Leh, in order to gather information concerning the nervous ailments of the population. It was, I thought, important to do

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

158 and deafness for certain periods of time. He attributed this to devils
[153] which possessed the individual concerned, and he, personally, tried to
cure them by cauterization of the head. If this did not help, the patients
[155] were advised to visit the lamas, who gave the religious formulas to eat,
or carried out exorcisms over them. Chonde showed me his cauterization instruments and a chart which guided him as to where to apply the red-hot irons.

[115] The Reverend Walter Asboe, whose Moravian Mission ran a small
[143] dispensary and hospital in the Mission House in Leh, was also informative about nervous ailments in the town. He said that men did come
[164] to be cured of impotence, but that they were nearly all physical cases
[833] and definitely not mental ones. As it was, it was not living in polyandry which made them impotent, for if the common wife was not to their
548 liking, they could always seek relief with some of the numerous prosti-
[595] tutes that were to be found in Leh. All of these professionals, he said,
[795] were Moslems, not Buddhists, and were usually recruited from among the temporary wives, converted to Mohammedanism by the Yarkandi traders, surplus women left over by the polyandry of the Buddhist Ladakis.

[158] The Reverend Asboe had come across no cases of frigidity in women,
[795] but, on the contrary, he knew of many cases of nymphomania. Again,
[833] this affliction was to be found among the Moslem women converts, never among the polyandrous wives of the Buddhist households. He
838 had also heard that homosexuality was prevalent in the monasteries,
792 and since, he said, Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* contained all the numerous Tibetan terms for various sexual perversions, it seemed from this that these were widespread throughout Ladak.

[115] Nono Tse-P'hün, as my principal interpreter and informant, was of an opposite opinion. He said that homosexuality was a punishable offence in Kashmiri law, and therefore did not exist in Ladak. It was looked upon with great disfavour anyhow, by the Ladakis, and he felt sure that no one indulged in it, not even in the monasteries. In Tibet, it was another matter, he added, and it was known that it was practised in the large monasteries of Central Tibet, as any monk returning from Lhasa or Shigatse where he had gone for his studies could tell.

296 With regard to prostitution, this is the place perhaps, to mention
171 what Joseph Gergan once told me about the smoking of tobacco. I had asked him on the 14th October 1938, in Kargil, as we were travelling together towards the Kashmir capital, Srinagar, how it was that in the whole of Tibet and in areas under the cultural influence of that country,

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak
Tibet AJ1

smoking was looked upon as so heinous an offence. He replied that it was because, so the lamas said, tobacco was a weed grown from the menstrual flow of a prostitute who had prayed that it might fertilize a plant that would be the joy of mankind. For this reason, lamas could not think of smoking, and they naturally opposed it in the lay population as well.

c) *Investigation of polyandry along the Leh-Srinagar Treaty Road*

1. *Information gathered at Spituk and Ri-dzong*

At our first halt after leaving Leh, I gathered interesting information concerning polyandry in the central Tibetan provinces from the acting chief abbot of the monastery, who had studied in Lhasa. I shall revert to what he told me when we come to Part II, where I shall deal with the polyandry of Tibet proper.

At Ri-dzong, the Tibetan bandit, Norgyäs, had much to tell me also. He told me a certain amount about the marital customs of those parts of Tibet which he knew personally, but also about those specifically appertaining to Western Tibet. It is these which I shall account for here.

It seemed that my informant was born in Ngari Korsum and had only later in his life taken to banditry. At the age of nine, he was adopted by a lama, the assistant of the Garpön of Gartok, that is of the Tibetan Government official whose residence was in the capital of Ngari Korsum.

The lama's name was De-chen-la (*bDe-Ch'hen-lags*) and he had a sister living with him who was married and had a son, Dön-stob-la (*Don-sTobs-lags*), of the same age as Norgyäs. Although there was a relation of master to servant between the two boys (the lama's nephew being the superior), a very intimate bond was formed between the two. When Dön-stob-la married, Norgyäs was allowed to share the wife with him, and this because the two had become what he called *skyidug-chik-pa* (*sKyid-sDug-gChig-pa*).

This long word has the meaning of "Happiness-Grief-Identical" and such a relation is very often entered into in Tibet between close friends. Norgyäs said that, in his case, it was only a minor variety of the relation because, normally, it is a much more formal and binding connection.

Thus in Tibet, and also in Ladak, two old friends who had known each other for a long time could become *skyidug-chik-pa* in the following way. They make a vow, clasping each other's middle finger, in which they swear to share undividedly everything that they have for the rest of their lives, and even in the next one that awaits them. If